● 476

/Information on the "stani" or company" as a group of related families organized together for the most efficient management of the flocks will be found in category 474./

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A man may occasionally give his wife a kid 432
to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of 434
cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and 342
the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circu- 462
lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἀψιδωτά).
Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the
women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the
hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into
position the pliable but strong branches which form the frame-
work of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the
wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with
which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plas- 237
ter both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a
mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth.
Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut 461
of conventional size[4] in two to three days, although it will have 426
taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their
materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make 236
the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, 462
naturally, in the hands of the women. The wool is divided into
three categories according to the fineness and length of the
staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden
implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has 283
been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool 236
(λανάρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόκα). This is a
lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise
employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun 286
thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the 221
women operate continuously during the months of August and
September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer
demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets,
the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats'
hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today pro- 294
fessional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men,
but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton 291
material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are 432
bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

[4] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

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612 829 being obliged to take him into consideration before proceeding to some course of action.

612 Consultation between trusted kinsmen about their various affairs is continual. The enterprise itself may be of almost any kind, the marriage of a son or daughter, a decision whether or not to sell sheep to raise money for the payment of a debt, or the acceptance or non-acceptance of an offer of winter pasture. Similarly, when a man is involved in some crisis, a fight with another shepherd, a brawl at a marriage feast, or a difficult court case, kinsmen come to him of their own accord with advice and criticism. In this way he learns which courses of action will enjoy the moral support of his kin and which will not. And since a man loses prestige if his kinsman acts wrongly, 612 558 he will always exhort him to an honourable course of action however difficult the circumstances. For his part, the principal actor is influenced by the fear of losing the support of his kinsmen, as he may do if he takes decisions which lose him prestige. His kinsmen can then only protect their own prestige by isolating themselves to a greater or lesser degree from social contact [626] with him. Consequently this consultation between kinsmen is not only to a man's advantage in terms of his own prestige, but it is also a subtle sanction for right ways of acting in the community as a whole.

612 476 In economic matters, too, a shepherd looks to his kinsmen for help and co-operation. Quite apart from the deep distrust which divides unrelated persons, shame prevents a man from seeking assistance outside the kindred, since this would be a tacit admission that he had been rejected by his own kinsmen. Thus [426] sentiment and convention lead in the same direction. A shepherd lives from one monetary crisis to another. When he needs a small money loan for an operation fee at a Jannina hospital or for the expenses of a wedding, he is often unable to persuade a merchant to grant him an additional advance; but he seldom fails to raise it from his kinsmen if they have the money in hand. Economic co-operation may take other forms. The con- 612 476 233 dition of the family's flocks is not only the basis of its physical existence but the source of pride and prestige. A man fears to meet the appraising eyes of another if his animals are in a meagre and spindle-shanked condition. But grazing, both in the Zagori and in the winter pastures, varies considerably from

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place to place and from year to year. Therefore, if a kinsman has some grass which is good for fattening lambs or restoring weakened ewes, a man may ask him to take some of his weaker animals which are in difficulties. For this service he will have to pay, but he would not in any circumstances trust his sheep to the care of an unrelated shepherd.

But the most intimate form of economic association between kinsmen occurs where a number of autonomous but related families join together for the co-management of their flocks and, in particular, to discover and negotiate for winter pastures. The solution of this problem requires that the group should reach an understanding, whether direct or through an intermediary, with persons of influence in villages and government departments. The leader of such a 'company' is known as the tselingas (ὁ τσέλιγγας). In a majority of cases the nucleus of the group he leads may be descibed as a simple fraternal association, that is a number of married brothers with families, each of whom maintains his own household, his own purse, and has his own animals clearly marked. But, in addition, such groups often include uncles, nephews, brothers-in-law, paternal and maternal cousins, and it would be possible to produce many examples of different combinations of kinsmen and affinal relatives. At this point, it is sufficient to stress that they are founded upon ties of kinship and marriage, that they are voluntary and often unstable associations in which each family retains its own independent social personality, its own budget, and its own animals.

In these ways kinsmen give each other moral and practical support in facing a hostile and competitive world where one man delights openly and with little inhibition in the misfortunes of another. A man co-operates with his kinsmen because he trusts them. There is a sense of security within the kindred which is significantly absent outside its limits. One may not steal from a kinsman's flock, nor cheat him in monetary settlements, nor seduce his sister, nor gossip about his private affairs. But it is necessary to stress that there are definite limits to what may be expected from kinsmen. When honour demands a vengeance killing, kinsmen outside the family will lend moral support but none of them is obliged to pull the trigger or thrust home the knife. Again, money may be loaned between kinsmen

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honour is very closely identified with the blood of the murdered man is it possible that a cousin, uncle, or nephew may undertake this duty; and there have been no such cases in recent years. In any case such a situation would only arise where the murdered man had no family relative, a brother or even an infant son, who could balance the debt of blood at that time or in the future.

It is quite a different matter when a man is physically attacked in the presence of a kinsman. The latter cannot stand by and do nothing; indeed, it is a personal insult to a man that another should dare to strike his kinsman before his eyes. Fights and brawls are not infrequent; they may happen in coffee-shops when a man is winning too successfully at cards, in a dispute over the boundaries of grazing land, or at a wedding when men drink to excess and see a veiled insult in each word or gesture. Yet these fights seldom lead to a killing. The Sarakatsani are very aware of the consequences of murder and vengeance killing; and even when they seem to be in the grip of ungovernable rage they do not draw a knife unless they see, or sense, that there are witnesses uncommitted by kinship obligation who will prevent them from using it. It is noticeable that in boundary disputes, where two shepherds may sometimes find themselves alone, quarrels are more often decided with iron-hooked shepherds' crooks, capable of ugly but generally not mortal wounds. In a brawl, as distinct from a calculated vengeance killing, a shepherd relies on the active support of a kinsman, for this does no injury to the interests of his family; on the contrary, the family gains honour by action, but loses it by inaction.

We must distinguish between two kinds of favour and service which may be exchanged between collateral kin; and it is, again, the question of responsibility to the family which marks the form of this distinction. In the first instance a man is able to assist his kinsman in a manner which cannot possibly conflict with the interests of his own family or become a charge on its limited resources. Shelter and hospitality, information about the affairs of other people and their gossip, physical support in a brawl, are examples of this kind of assistance. These services are true favours (χάρες) which in a relationship of personal kinship a man is bound to perform. 'We hold to our kindred' (κρατᾶμε

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612 τὸ σόϊ) the Sarakatsani say. But a man's own feelings also prompt
476 him to give this help. Like the grace of God, which is expressed by the same word, such favours are generally without motive or conscious sense of calculation.

There are, however, other forms of assistance and co-operation between collaterals which make some demand on the material wealth of a kinsman and his family. This is no longer merely a matter of personal kinship solidarity, since it is the principle of parental obligation which guides a man in his conduct as trustee of the corporate resources of the family, human
[431] and material, under his control. He is not free to make gifts of money or animals to a kinsman in difficulties. Yet it is still
[675] possible for the families of these men to help one another in situations which involve corporately owned resources, providing that the assistance or co-operation is on a contractual basis of strict accountability. And this, of course, is only possible because between kinsmen there are normally sentiments of confidence and trust. In this way kinsmen sometimes make modest money loans, pasture each other's animals for a consideration, and frequently join in the co-management of their flocks.

The history of the misfortunes of Vasili Arvanitis illustrates this distinction. In the spring of 1955 his winter pastures were flooded by the irrigation of adjoining fields and, as often happens in these conditions, his animals contracted liver-fluke. From a flock of 105 sheep only 63 survived, an entirely inadequate number to support a growing family of five children. Vasili has a first cousin, Spiros Tangas, a more fortunate Sarakatsanos with 450 animals and a small property in the winter pastures near
[489] Preveza. When Spiros learned of the difficulties of his cousin he at once left home and went by bus to Igoumenitsa, a day's
[662] journey away. There he visited an official of the Ministry of
[426] Agriculture, a friend who had baptized his youngest daughter,
[851] and asked him if he would try to arrange his cousin's application for a considerable loan from the Agricultural Bank. For such applications are sometimes delayed for many months because of the formalities of proof relating to the cause of the animals' death. The following day he made another bus journey of some hours to a small town where the Mayor was an animal dealer with whom he sometimes did business. The Mayor introduced him to a friend with a few acres of rough

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pasture which he was willing to rent to Vasili for the weeks that remained before the Sarakatsani began their journey to the Zagori mountains. Spiros paid him twelve pounds for the use of the pasture and sent a message to Vasili to bring his surviving animals as quickly as possible before they, too, contracted the disease. He also told him to send his wife and children to Spiros' own home, since it would not be worth while constructing new huts for so short a time.

At the time, I suggested to Spiros that he had acted very generously towards Vasili. But he could only shrug his shoulders, not in modesty for this was entirely foreign to his nature, but because he felt that his conduct was only natural and did not call for any explanation. At the same time he made it quite clear that Vasili would have to repay the twelve pounds. He admitted without embarrassment that Vasili would be in great difficulties for many years to come. Nevertheless each family had its own responsibilities, for instance he himself was hoping to set up one of his sons as a shopkeeper in Jannina. He did not expect repayment this year or even next. And anyway, he added, Vasili would not allow him to forget the debt. In fact, later in the summer of the same year when Vasili had received a much reduced sum of money for the sale of his milk, he at once repaid the loan. Spiros' comment to me was simply, 'You see how quickly he paid off the debt. We have trust in our kinsmen.' The time and energy which Spiros gave to the arrangement of his kinsman's affairs, the use of his valuable patronage relationships with a Ministry official and the mayor of a local town, were favours freely given, mere incidents in the personal relations of cousins. But the money, although not a particularly large sum, was part of the wealth of the family and under no circumstance could it be alienated.

2. COUSINS

Cousins are the most significant of a person's collateral kinsmen both for purposes of practical co-operation and for simple companionship. This is particularly true of the periods immediately before and after marriage. For these are the years when the individual's social reputation and prestige are judged by the community, and when the problems and difficulties of establishing a family require the practical assistance and moral support of

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572 605 612 man finds perhaps two or three cousins with whom his friendship is particularly intimate; this is a relationship based on sympathy and mutual concern for the other, it is the delight taken in the company of the other person for the quality of sociability itself. But these relations of affection and uncalculating trust tend not to be with cousins with whom a man co-operates, or has co-operated, in the day-to-day management of the same flocks. The goodwill of kinsmen is important both in those situations where purpose, aim, and practical interest are involved, and for its own sake where pleasure is taken in the quality of a friendly sympathetic relationship. In both instances a man finds in his kinsman what lack of trust and antipathy prevents him from seeking in an unrelated individual. But there is a difference between a relationship of co-operation and one of sympathetic friendship. Men who herd their sheep together in the same 'company', are concerned in co-operation between corporate family groups; the obligations of this co-operative activity are specific and quasi-contractual, requiring restraint, discipline, and calculated book-keeping. These are elements at odds with the free, unrestrained, attitudes of devoted personal friendship in which obligations are diffuse not specific in character. In principle one cannot deny a friend what he asks. Therefore, friendship between kinsmen flourishes better where the demands put upon it fall into the category of free favours. And this is more likely to be the case where cousins do not work together.

605 This last consideration raises the question whether there is any significant variation in the degree or quality of solidarity between the various categories of first cousins. Marriage is patrilocal and brothers live for a number of years after their marriage in a united extended family; afterwards they may continue to co-operate as a single sheep management group until their children are often in late adolescence. Although these cousins are unlikely to share a relationship of devoted personal friendship, there is the fact or the memory of common service to the same flocks and of essentially identified interests. The possession of the same surname and the value placed upon relationships which are mediated through male kinsmen, are further factors which encourage a formal preference for cousins who are father's brother's children. Equally, however, early childhood in a joint household and co-operative labour in early

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which through common membership can commit him to any duty towards persons with whom he is not related by kinship or marriage. Indeed, any relationship with an unrelated person would be regarded by other members of the family as a form of betrayal. For a man's energies and affections belong to his family and his relatives, and to nobody else. This explains why personal friendship with an unrelated person, based simply on liking and sympathy, is impossible. There is devoted friendship between cousins, but even here we have seen that such an association is immediately sacrificed if any friction develops between the two families. The solidarity of the family resides in its exclusiveness and opposition to those who do not belong. And any relationship between one of its members and an outsider, which is not shared by the others, necessarily weakens it.

The mutual distrust of unrelated families emerges very clearly on those rare occasions when for some specific purpose they are forced into co-operation. During the summer a hut is established high in the mountains above the village so that the various shepherds who have sold their milk to a particular merchant are able to deliver it twice a day to his agents who at once turn it into cheese. Towards the end of July these operations come to an end, and it is then the responsibility of those selling their milk to the merchant to carry down to the village on their mules the machinery, utensils, and the mass of accumulated cheeses. The cheese-maker and his assistant calculate from their books the total quantity of milk which each family has delivered during the whole summer, and in proportion to these quantities each family is allotted so many mule-loads of cheeses and equipment, which it is their duty to transport as far as the village. But the assessment of these loads by the cheese-maker is not accepted without many amendments and bitter wrangling. The cream separator for instance is a heavy, awkward thing to load on a mule. Who is to say what the equivalent in cheeses or smaller pieces of equipment may be? Each family is determined not to be outmanœuvred by the others into performing any service which can possibly be avoided, and no trust is placed by anybody in the impartiality of the cheese-maker. It sometimes happens that the family which has sold the largest quantity of milk has only one mule, while another group with only a small flock possesses three or four pack

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571 609 578 [476] [234] animals. But this never leads to a comradely offer of assistance which might finish the task in a single mule train. A man with a single animal may have to struggle three or four times in the day up and down to the village while the man with three or four mules sits and watches as his animals graze in idleness.

All social relations between unrelated persons are pervaded by this attitude of distrust. We may recall how sometimes in marriage negotiations the girl's family try to conceal her shortcomings and attempt by implication to suggest that a more attractive younger sister is the prospective bride. A man and his family distrust unrelated people because they expect to be exploited and tricked by them. They admit that they themselves would act in a similar manner. They say that a man must protect his family, and to do this in the world as he finds it some cunning and some lies are necessary.

571 609 578 685 [554] Before 1937, the mutual hostility of unrelated families found an institutionalized form of expression in the custom of 'animal theft' (ζωοκλοπή), more especially of sheep. Although the severity of the penalties introduced by the government of Metaxas effectively stifled this activity almost overnight, most of the heads of families are old enough to remember the alarms and excitements of sheep theft. The desire to steal is still privately expressed (and occasionally indulged in) and the qualities of courage and intelligence which were necessary in these adventures are still the ideal attributes of the hero and 'pallikari'. As we shall see, theft of another sort has now replaced it. But one cannot doubt that but for the pressure of the State law sheep theft would still be a vigorous institution.

[602] The more general form of sheep theft was the small-scale expedition undertaken by a lone individual or in company with one or two trusted kinsmen. The object was to steal one or two sheep from the flock of an unrelated man, transport the animals with speed to the huts of the families involved where the sheep were at once killed, roasted, and eaten, as a precaution against the discovery of incriminating evidence. Sheep were never stolen from kinsmen or affines and generally not from other flocks in the immediate vicinity. This precaution was taken not from any neighbourly spirit, but because it was realized that, if two neighbouring groups engaged in a sequence of theft and counter-theft, shepherding would soon become impossible, and the

/175 cont./
233 427 571 details, the role of clients of the family and of the Roman latifunda. (54)

54. See J. Declareuil: Ibid., p. 150.

233 426 177 Providing funds for small herders. In case of need, the small herder whose income did not permit savings, had no recourse but the peasant usurer--a solution that was actually a vicious circle from which, once having entered it, he found it impossible to escape.

233 404 426 596 By contrast, the Tséligato, having the possibility of providing funds to its members without demanding interest, represented the only rational solution for the indigent.

596 404 426 233 424 /176/ The labor requirements of large herders. When the extended family does not have sufficient man-power to maintain the livestock which, under favorable conditions, increases constantly, it joins with other herders who have smaller flocks and can put at its disposal their supplementary work potential.

233 177 The need to maintain relations with the outside world, that is to say, with the surrounding society. The simple shepherds are not in a position to fulfill this function for two reasons. First, their very engrossing work demands their uninterrupted presence close to their [212] flocks. In the second place, they are not prepared for it, for they are generally illiterate and devoid of all social experience.

596 177 554 404 On the other hand, the extended and wealthy families are able to prepare one of their members for the demands of the indispensable socio-economic contacts with non-Sarakatsani, and give them the necessary education to succeed in this delicate task, the substance of which has been described in connection with the function of the head-manager and of which we shall speak again a little farther on.

596 404 [233] The necessity of defending themselves and of cooperating in the economic utilization of the livestock. Though the extended family already provides an answer to this problem through blood ties and kinship (affinal and fictive) and through its functions, the Tséligato creates

/192 cont./

436 437 474 58 [469] [471] participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).

Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the 436 474 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide funds to his subjects if necessary.

433 476 In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-[571] professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition. [421] Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

438 439 462 434 Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption" the activity is confined to the women.

462 433 562 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule. The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry; they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing. The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men.

462 342 433 562 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a productive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes

/389 cont./

000 182 561 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face

182 596 114 197 critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined

182 496 233 first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction having been established and put into practice, every subsequent individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond encourages in its turn.

182 621 496 (181) --Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism. They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

182 793 --Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the myths supplement it."

/392 cont./

121 4. The justification of this statement is the subject matter of the following chapter.

And among conditions it is the specific geographical environment which plays the same role.

Of course, these privileged influences, so to speak, cannot be raised to the rank of a unilateral determinism, of a unilinear causality exerted over the rest. The "whole," let us repeat, is created from dialectical connections that develop simultaneously on all sides.

On the other hand, the influences in question, constituting salient points in the framework of Sarakatsani life, give the latter its peculiar character, in other words, its style.

AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

We now have all the indispensable data to try to define the style in which the general configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture is expressed.

105 182 596 [494] [233] Sarakatsani life unfolds within the framework of the extended, patrilocal and quasi-patriarchal family and in associations of families, the Tséligatos. Placed under the authority of a head, its omni-functional and strictly regulated and organized units develop a self-sufficient economic activity based on a symbiosis with the animals (nomadic herding [829] of small livestock). Relying on themselves, the Sarakatsani mistrust the [496] outside and follow a communal regime of internal cooperation. With strict, very traditional customs they conceive of the world /393/ [771] through beliefs arising from the myth of the mother-goddess, but at the same time they practice orthodox Christianity. Their culture, though [181] unique from several points of view, belongs basically to the Mediterranean 0711 culture area.

121 182 However, this descriptive definition includes two points on which it